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LETTER DATED 19 MARCH 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF CROATIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to submit, enclosed herewith, a letter dated 19 March 1993, by the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, addressed to you.

I would be grateful if you would provide for the distribution of this letter and its annex as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mario NOBILO
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

Annex

Letter dated 19 March 1993 from the President of the Republic of
Croatia addressed to the Secretary-General

My country highly regards your indefatigable and devoted efforts to bring peace to the territory of the Republic of Croatia and the area of former Yugoslavia. The United Nations has the pivotal role in the ongoing initiatives for creating stability and security in the region. With sincere appreciation for all the actions you are currently undertaking, I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate some of the highlights of Croatia's proposal for the facilitation and improvement of the future performance of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

Croatia welcomes the fact that the United Nations is seriously considering our call for a more effective and resolute UNPROFOR mandate in the Republic of Croatia. We firmly believe that the execution of the new UNPROFOR mandate should clearly conform with the political solution that is to be defined under the auspices of the Security Council. This solution should secure the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia, including the imposition of the authority of the Croatian Government over the entire territory of the Republic, as well as providing maximum respect for human and minority rights in Croatia.

We advocate defining the obligations of the Croatian Government and Serbian local authorities must fulfil during each stage of the peace process, thus ensuring the complete implementation of the Vance plan. It is our firm opinion that the peace operation taking place on Croatian soil should be redefined in order to utilize concrete mechanisms for the active implementation of the Vance plan, including the time-frame for its gradual execution. Only through the effective implementation of relevant Security Council resolutions will we be able to reach a just and everlasting solution to the ongoing crisis within the shortest possible period.

At this moment the UNPROFOR operation is taking place on the territory of two sovereign Member States of the United Nations - Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina - and on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. Therefore, "Yugoslavia" has no competence either in a legal or a political sense for the ongoing UNPROFOR action. This is not a civil war but an international armed conflict caused by Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is the essence of the crisis. Therefore, the definition of the character of the peace mandate and the formal agreement on the status of United Nations forces must be reached among the respective Governments and the United Nations. Consequently, the agreement on the future mandate and status of UNPROFOR in Croatia must be concluded between the United Nations and the Government of the Republic of Croatia.

Croatia would like to see the UNPROFOR mandate prolonged for an additional six months, based upon the premise of the dynamic concept of gradual implementation of the Vance plan and relying on the political solution that would mutually respect Croatia's sovereignty as well as the rights of minorities

on its territory with the goal of creating lasting internal and regional stability and security.

In Croatia, the UNPROFOR operation must have an approach parallel in spirit and execution to the action the world community is prepared to undertake in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The success of the implementation of the peace plan in Bosnia and Herzegovina is closely linked to the positive outcome of the peace action in Croatia. Therefore, Croatia is calling for the same level of determination in achieving a peaceful solution based upon the key Security Council resolutions and peace plans formulated under the auspices of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. Failure of the peace efforts in Croatia will decrease hopes of reversing Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina and ending unbearable civilian suffering and material destruction. We remain determined that the future UNPROFOR operation in Croatia should be based on the following fundamental principles: (a) immediate beginning of the process of restoring Croatian civil authority in the so-called "pink zones"; (b) the complete and immediate demilitarization of the United Nations protected areas (UNPAs) and the establishment of local police forces in accordance with the general principles of the Vance plan; (c) full implementation of Security Council resolution 769 (1992) which imposes firm control by UNPROFOR forces of the border areas in Croatia where the boundaries of the UNPAs coincide with internationally recognized frontiers of the Republic of Croatia; without the effective control of these borders the aggression by Serbian forces will continue in the future; (d) voluntary and unconditional return of all the refugees and displaced persons to their homes.

Croatia believes that one of the first steps in the reintegration process that is to be a part of the new UNPROFOR mandate should be the promotion of confidence-building measures aimed at decreasing distrust and tensions among the people in the area. It is important to normalize life and living conditions in all the territory of Croatia as soon as possible. Therefore, one of the primary tasks for UNPROFOR should be the reopening of major roads, railways, aqueducts, electric transmission lines and pipelines throughout the UNPAs. It is essential to establish immediately the normal traffic of the Zagreb-Knin-Split railway. In the process of reopening the roads, priority must be given to the highway Zagreb-Slavonski Brod-Županja, as well as to the roads Karlovac-Plitvice-Obrovac-Šibenik; Plitvice-Gračac-Knin-Split; Vinkovci-Ilok; Vinkovci-Vukovar and Osijek-Bilje-Beli Manastir-Kneževo.

The United Nations operation in the Republic of Croatia should also provide continuous humanitarian assistance to the population in the occupied areas and to the population in the parts of Croatia which have been isolated and blocked due to the hostilities, especially in the southern coastal region of Dalmatia. The Croatian Government is preparing various measures for normalizing living conditions throughout the UNPAs, which will be undertaken after the vigorous implementation which is desired from UNPROFOR. We are ready to take all measures for re-establishing and integrating the school system, social and health care, and pension system with the rest of the Republic of Croatia. We will issue Croatian identification cards to all its citizens in the UNPAs, as well as passports and other documents, in accordance with the existing procedure.

Reopening of the high-voltage transmission grid through Sector South is of vital importance for the million inhabitants in Dalmatia and is also for the benefit of the Serbian population in Sector South. The Adriatic oil pipeline which partly crosses through Sector West should also be immediately reopened because of its strategic value for the Republic of Croatia, as well as to the neighbouring countries of Central Europe.

The Croatian Government is prepared to proceed with direct talks on normalization, confidence-building and minority rights issues with the legitimate representatives of the Serbian population from each of the UNPA sectors, namely those who have been elected in local elections before the outbreak of the conflict. We firmly believe that one of the important steps in the renewed and revised mandate of UNPROFOR should be organizing internationally supervised local elections in these parts of Croatia, taking into account the 1991 census; this will produce legitimate representatives of the Serbian and other local population on all the governmental levels. We would welcome the participation of these elected representatives in the work of both chambers of Croatian Parliament.

Croatia cannot be satisfied with the results of the ongoing UNPROFOR operation, nor with the manner in which it was performed. Although we salute the brave effort of the UNPROFOR personnel and their devotion to peace, we must unfortunately express dissatisfaction with the fact that the most important provisions of the Vance plan have not yet been fulfilled. We think that this is primarily due to the limited character of the existing UNPROFOR mandate, which proved to be inadequate to initiate and support the process of the return of the refugees, control of international borders of Croatia, disarming of Serbian paramilitary units and restoration of Croatian government authority in the "pink zones" and UNPAs.

Security Council resolution 807 (1993), which provides the UNPROFOR forces in Croatia with additional measures for their own protection, is a good starting-point for intensifying the implementation of the Vance plan, given the fact that the Security Council authorization to UNPROFOR to use force when necessary is essential not only for the personal safety of United Nations troops, but also for the fulfilment of all unaccomplished provisions of the Vance plan.

Although Croatia is committed to full cooperation with the UNPROFOR, we cannot accept the extension of the same mandate that has been badly misused by the Serbian side. Negotiations and confidence building are absolutely essential, but this process cannot be initiated, nor carried out, without a strengthened UNPROFOR mandate and international guarantees for securing the results of the peace process in the region.

(Signed) Franjo TUDJMAN
President of the
Republic of Croatia
